1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Geidam in the north, where another anthropologist, Abraham Rosman, and his wife were working. Discussions with Dr. and Mrs. Rosman helped all of us to see many of the unique features of Kanuri life that stemmed from our particular towns as against more general Kanuri patterns of behavior that were widespread throughout the society. We also became acutely aware of the kinds of variations that could occur across communities as they varied in size, ethnic composition, and quality of the political leadership. At the end of the first field trip, my wife and I spent three months in the capital city of Maiduguri looking at government reports and district notebooks, and acquainting ourselves with many of the special activities that characterize courtly life at the center of the emirate.

In 1964 and again in 1965 I returned to Bornu. On my previous visit the country had been a colonial holding of Great Britain, now it was part of the independent nation of Nigeria. My task in this second visit was to gather statistics on marriage and on divorce rates. But it also gave me a chance to see old friends, and catch up on what had been happening locally since my last visit seven years earlier. Some changes were readily apparent. A large number of deep wells were sunk all over the province, and these now provide enough water for a greatly expanded livestock population. Everywhere the cattle are healthier, fatter, and above all much more in evidence. They block roads and are seen herded in large numbers to and fro wherever one wanders over the countryside. Furthermore the people are less afflicted by parasites because the deep water is uncontaminated, as much of it was not during my first visit. There is now a large modern abattoir and a ground-nut oil refinery in the capital city, and in late 1964 the Nigerian railway finally pushed through to Maiduguri to connect the Bornu capital with Nigeria's national railway system. On the other hand, detailed questions about various traditional practices indicated that there have been few changes at the cultural and social level. At the political level where there were English District Officers and other officials of the regional government, now these posts are filled by Nigerians, generally from other parts of northern Nigeria. However it is for the most part correct to use the present tense in describing Bornu, and when this is not true I will attempt to mention the special circumstances that have brought on the changes.

Magumeri, our home for seventeen months in 1956 and 1957, sits on top of one of the ridges of Bornu, and there is a steep climb onto it from the motor road that travels along the bottom of the ridge for most of the year. During the rains, the road runs along the sandy top of the ridge, to keep clear of the large muddy areas formed at the ridge bottom. Magumeri includes approximately 2000 people about half of whom live in surrounding hamlets within the boundaries of the village area. It is a district capital and thus has a two-room primary school, a court house, and the large compound of the district head who administers twenty-one village areas, containing 50,000 people, living in an area of approximately 850 square miles. The village has a weekly market on Sunday, and is divided up into a number of wards under the village area head who is also the political leader of its surrounding hamlets and officially the political subordinate of the district head. Except for the fact that it has a somewhat lower proportion of non-Kanuri compared to most others, Magumeri is a "typical" Bornu village in terms of its size, occupational ranges of the population, and influences it receives from the capital and the world beyond the emirate. Indeed this is why I chose to spend most of my time

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there. That it did not turn out to be "typical" in all respects is not surprising, given the relatively large numbers of people there are in Bornu and the range of variation that such a large population can quite normally exhibit.

For the first week or so in Magumeri, the Bornu Native Authority appointed a young man who was to serve as our interpreter and guide—telling the people our purpose in coming to live in their village and helping us to get settled into our new surroundings. At first the local Magumeri officials found it all hard to believe, and kept asking why we wanted to live right in the village, rather than reopening an old, deserted, and I suspected snake infested and ramshackle government rest house about a mile away. However, they politely accepted our firm desire to live in the village even if they disagreed with the idea. Soon I decided to live at the end of the plaza facing the district chief's compound, across the open 200 yards of sand which stretched between his house and mine. The interpreter helped with all these arrangements, and in the ten days he was with us I took down a rough outline of the entire culture using him as an informant. As an interpreter, he accompanied me to the compound of the village area head and we asked if I could take down his genealogy and that of some of his neighbors in order that people might become acquainted with the kinds of questions I would be asking later on. At the same time, my wife began compiling a short dictionary of Kanuri nouns, verbs, and useful phrases, using our interpreter as her major source.

For the next four months, we struggled to learn the language and to get our house built—it kept falling down all the time we lived in it—and to begin making a few friends. The first ten days had been so rich and fruitful that what came afterwards seemed all the harder to accept. Without the language, very little could be accomplished; we could watch but not ask questions about what it all meant. The local school teacher who knew very little English offered his help. He would teach us Kanuri, he said, help us to understand the customs of the people, if we would help him to learn English. And slowly this exchange blossomed into a close friendship that has lasted through the years. Slowly, too, little phrases of Kanuri conversation jumped out at us as understandable items from a background of unintelligible conversation. In about four months my wife and I could converse haltingly with one another, and in six months we were speaking—with an accent, with bad grammar, and a limited vocabulary—but we were speaking nonetheless.

During this first six months, several significant things happened that affected the course of our work. First, the district head who mistrusted us when we had arrived began to relax when nothing dire seemed to follow from our presence on his doorstep. Eventually he and I became friends and his acceptance of our presence in Bornu, and Magumeri in particular, along with his conviction that I was in fact studying the customs of his people, helped and many others followed his lead. Secondly, I became very ill with hepatitis, and had to leave Magumeri for two months. No one (we were told later) believed for a minute that we would ever return after such a dreadful illness—but we did. And our return was a triumphant one. For several days visitors poured in to tell us what had been happening during my illness, and what was going to happen, and so on. We had come home, we said, and Magumeri made us feel that it was indeed a homecoming.

Slowly but surely life settled into a pattern and my wife and I became identifiable members of the community and known throughout the entire emirate as "the Europeans of Magumeri."

175 were two types of differently named fiefs, the one where membership was territori-
634 ally based, and the other where membership was ethnic or clan based, that is, based
642 on birth into a particular group regardless of its territoriality. The big lord re-
643 mained in the capital and administered his various fiefs, sometimes ranging up to
421 twenty or more through his representative, the chima gana, or "the junior lords." Each junior lord lived in one of the fiefs of his superior, the fief-holder, or big lord. This junior lord was the highest authority living in the fief and from him one could appeal to the Shehu, being presented by representatives of the junior lord to the big lord living in the capital, and through this latter person to the court of the monarch.

175 This central administration was linked up to a local one. There was a vil-
634 lage head, or bullama, who usually belonged to the male line of the founder of the
622 settlement. However, he was only one among a group of eligibles. If the local junior lord did not like him or the tributes he delivered, then the junior lord could appoint another member of the same line. There are also some records of junior lords shifting the headship to other lineages as well as to persons within the same lineage. As settlements grew in size, sons, clients, and even slaves of the original village head would hive off and form small settlements or satellite communities nearby under the general jurisdiction of the original village head and the local leadership of the founder of the satellite community. These new heads were called mbarma (hamlet heads) as were heads of sub-sections of the original village that had some sort of unity based on occupation or kinship or a combination of both.
175 Thus a big lord with the help of his junior lords could have his fief-holdings ex-
634 pand in size, and he tried to help this process along by not being too excessive in his demands on the peasants, and by protecting them from raiders and other forms of outside depredation. A big lord's wealth and ability to supply militia to the monarch depended upon his success as a fief-holder, so that it was in his best interests to see to it that each fief was well governed. People could complain to other nobles, or emigrate out of the fief, and such indications of mismanagement, if they continued, could lead to the granting of fief rights to someone else. This new big lord could then take over part of the original holding, or in extreme cases the entire fief was transferred to another big lord's administration.

175 A very successful village head—one with a large and flourishing settlement
622 containing many satellite communities—could be rewarded for his increase in
632 power and authority by being brought to the Shehu's court in the capital and given
634 the title of lawan. The Shehu then performed a ceremony in which a turban was
642 placed on the new lawan's head. This meant he was now a member, albeit a local
643 one, of the titled nobility of the state. In this case, he not only paid accession-to-office-gifts to the junior and senior lord which all local headsmen did, but to the Shehu as well. Once having been advanced from bullama to lawan, it was now possible for some of the leading heads of satellite villages to be made into bullama (by the junior lord and the lawan) with their own mbarma or leaders of satellite communities under them in turn. If these inter-related communities developed even further, the lawan might be brought into the capital again and be made officially into an ajia by the Shehu, giving bullama and mbarma under him the opportunity of becoming lawan with bullama and mbarma in turn under them, all under final authority of the ajia and the most senior of the junior lords. By this time the big

By the time the big lord living in the capital would have appointed several representatives to this particular fief because it had grown so big. Such fiefs were the ones most likely to fall prey to sub-division at the death of a king and appointment of a new one. For at this time the incoming monarch had to reward his chief supporters with grants of new fiefs.

As in the pre-nineteenth century the political hierarchy served as an appeal court system, and at the very top of the local fief hierarchy the junior lords shared adjudication with the most senior local leader whatever his rank. Usually these very senior political leaders of the fief had koranic scholars, or mallams, who gave legal advice. Serious cases such as homicide were referred immediately to the capital.

The other variety of fief, that based on birth into a particular group, or *jili* is less well understood. The word "jili" refers to variety or kind. The people speak of this or that jili of soil, or tree, or person. In using it to refer to a person they give his territorial or settlement background, or ethnic group, or his clan grouping if this differs from his territorial classification. Thus a person can have several jili —ethnic, territorial, or clan. Even patrilineal lineage affiliation can be described under this term. Nomadic groups in Bornu were represented as jili in the Shehu's court by a big lord of the jili (chima kura jilibe); this man was, in effect, the fief-holder responsible for the nomad group. Sometimes he was a leader of the group itself, and at other times he was a trusted Kanuri follower of the monarch. In both cases the big lord of the jili administered the group through his own representative in the group who was, unlike the territorial grouping, the local leader of a nomad clan, or a sub-tribe. Sometimes entire tribal groupings came under one jurisdiction, and at other times or in other sections of the state the tribe would be broken down into subsections based on clan groupings with one or more clans under a single fief-holder or big lord of the jili.

This double fief system allowed the nineteenth-century Bornu government the organizational means of administering both the settled and nomadic populations of Bornu. It also did something else very important, for it allowed the government effective control over the population even when natural disasters such as outbreaks of disease or sudden invasions sent the people into flight. If a large set of settlements had grown up in one territory from an original one, and this area was then beset by some disaster, which made the people flee in several directions, they were still thought of as a jili or a single variety of persons. They were still organized under their old lords, and their old leaders still retained over them some powers of taxation and demands of loyalty. If the entire kingdom was in an uproar —as it was during the Fulani wars at the beginning of the century with people fleeing in all directions—then old leaders, or former leaders, could muster their scattered followers as jili, and the political integration of the kingdom remained intact and viable until new settlements stabilized locally, and the territorial-based fief system could re-assert itself.

Complicating the system was the settlement of groups with fiefs through permission granted by the big lord in the capital. He could be approached by the leaders of a group of craftsmen, or kinsmen, or people of the same ethnic extraction, who requested of him that they be allowed to settle in one of his fiefs. In this case, the special group was directly under the jurisdiction of the lord through his local administrator, the junior lord, who dealt with their headman. In later generations,

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175 439 437 rope. From North African manufacturers came cloaks, shawls, red felt and embroidered hats for men, sashes, trousers, carpets, religious books, spices, perfumes, and later, cowrie shells. From the desert came tobacco, barley, wild rice, dates, salt, natron, camels, and various assorted medicines, especially *drupa*, a herb believed to induce fertility in women. In return Bornu sent back sewn cloth, hides, leatherwork, sandals, feathers, ivory, gum arabic, Korans, kola nuts, and, above all, slaves. Caravans were large, and the trip was long, arduous, and dangerous because of the desert and its marauding inhabitants. However, just how important foreign trade was in the area is difficult to assess. The ordinary man probably used very little of outside manufacture, but at the capital such goods were considered necessities for people having any pretentions to higher status in the kingdom.

The Colonial Change

175 648 Using this description of pre-colonial Bornu it is now possible to discuss the kind of changes that were brought into the area by the inception of British rule at the beginning of the twentieth century. The British came to Bornu in 1901, after it had been occupied for seven years by Rabeh who had been intent on making himself the founder of its third dynasty. The British had not only to bring Bornu 175 177 under the Northern Nigerian Government but to resuscitate its leaders who had not been in control of the area since 1893. At first they simply left the Shehu to do 648 634 as he pleased, with the exception of waging war and carrying on the slave trade, which they vigorously put down. However, the idea of fiefs being ruled by lords at the capital seemed grossly inefficient, and they soon ordered that the Shehu choose his best fief-holders and that these be sent out to the locality of their fiefs to govern. Furthermore they decided to consolidate numbers of fiefs into larger units which they now called districts. There followed a tussle between the British and the Kanuri over how many village areas and how many districts there were going to be, the British generally trying to limit the number while the Shehu and his advisers generally tried to increase them. Finally a number around twenty was worked out for the districts and then village areas were incorporated into them. In general these village areas approximate the size and location of former fiefs. However the Kanuri felt that the head of a district was like a titled, local, territorial chief of the 175 nineteenth century who has control over a large number of settlements, so he was 177 called *ajia*, which translates today as a district head. Under him were heads of vil- 648 lage areas that included a number of satellite settlements—and this village area 632 head was—like the *ajia*, appointed and turbaned by the Shehu. He was therefore 634 called a lawan (village area head) as was the titled head of a settlement with satellites during the nineteenth century. The difference, however, was that now there was no fief-holder or his representative to whom the local headmen were accountable. The district head held his office directly under the Shehu and the village area heads were directly under the district head. Small wards and hamlets were now 622 headed up by bullama and the term for a bullama's subordinate, the mbarma, fell into disuse and has now almost disappeared.

175 177 648 634 The mode of appointing and maintaining these jobs led to problems which were never really solved. The Shehu put up names for the district heads who be-

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and he is a *tada njima* or client of the settlement head. All residents of this new settlement look upon its founder as their local leader. Disputes between members are always taken to Aji before going to any higher authorities while disputes with outsiders follow the general Bornu rule of going first to a political leader superior in rank to both participants. The new settlement does not have a name; however in all likelihood if it continues to grow and Aji's place is taken by one of his heirs, either his brother or his son, it will be called Aji or Ajiri after its founder. At present Aji collects taxes from the men of the new community, and these are taken by the hamlet head of Gworongo to the head of Magumeri village area. Aji hopes that one day he will be able to take the taxes directly to Magumeri, thus helping to indicate his equal political status to that of the hamlet head of Gworongo. When that happens he will be a recognized bullama or head man of a hamlet or ward. He tries to take disputes directly to Magumeri village, but in 1957 this was not accepted and the hamlet head of Gworongo was invariably called to sit in on such discussions.

The same process can be seen operating in larger villages. In Magumeri village itself one ward under its bullama (ward or hamlet head) was, in 1957, becoming large enough so that people were beginning to speak of the possibility of its splitting into two under the old bullama and a new one. In the ward a man named Kachella has under his authority the compounds of several younger full brothers, three of his sons two of whom are married, several nephews, and a few unrelated clients who say they are his *tada njima*. He collects taxes from these compounds and takes the money directly to the village head of Magumeri. However he recognizes the authority of the present ward head in settling disputes and always consults the latter first before taking the matter to a higher authority. One of his sons has married a girl from the household of the ward head and this helps link the two households. The ward head seems tolerant of the rising power and influence of his neighbor and always consults him on any major decision affecting the ward. Eventually however, if the set of linked households under the authority of Kachella continues to expand, then he will become a recognized bullama of his own ward of the village and the office will be passed on to his heirs.

The Village Area

The village area in Bornu includes a major settlement which gives the area its name and a set of surrounding smaller hamlets that are included within the political boundaries of the village area. Thus Magumeri village area includes the village of Magumeri and a series of little hamlets in the surrounding countryside. As we have seen, smaller villages are divided into wards under bullama and the hamlets surrounding the village each have their own bullama as well. In other words all recognized political leaders under a village area head are called bullama. The head of a village area, that is, the political superior of all bullamas in the village area is called the *lawan*. However the system is flexible and a few large cities such as the capital city of Maiduguri, as well as several other centers with populations over 10,000, have several lawan, each in his own ward of the city. Under these city lawan are sub-wards again under the bullama. Thus the traditional nineteenth-cen-

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tury system of a flexible hierarchy described in Chapter 2 in which the number and authority of political offices can expand with the settlement size is still recognized and practiced.

In Magumeri village area one lawan is responsible for the administration of the entire area. All permanent residents in the area, when asked who their local leader is, reply, "We are the commoners of Lawan Mina. We are his people." This does not apply, or at least applies less, to those persons who live locally and are themselves higher in the political hierarchy than lawan or are local representatives of the emirate civil service departments. They have their own political superiors and are responsible to others besides the lawan. Thus they give their taxes to lawan because they live in Magumeri, and he must collect the village tax, but a dispute between one of these men and a peasant would be adjudicated at a higher level in the political hierarchy than that held by lawan.

In his own part of town the lawan acts as his own ward head. Many of the compounds in the ward are reserved for his own followers, In Magumeri this includes the lawan's own compound with his four wives, married son and grandchildren, several clients and his aged mother. Some twenty followers consider themselves the active supporters of lawan under his chief follower or *wakil*. Each of these men have their own compounds near that of lawan or at least in his ward. They receive economic aid from him in the form of food, clothing, and money as well as a recognized role as a member of his retinue. Peasants often ask one of these followers to intercede with the lawan on their behalf, or to help in arranging a meeting between parties to a dispute with the lawan as the judge.

This retinue of followers who are called collectively by a special name (*waladi*) are linked together under the lawan and serve as his administrative staff. They keep in touch with gossip, aid in collecting taxes, act as contact men for anyone wishing to see him, help him on his farm plots, and carry messages for him. When he travels, several of these men are always with him on horse and on foot, and give him the appearance of being what he is—a man a cut above the common citizenry of the village area—a local official of the kingdom whose title is conferred officially by the Shehu himself. Indeed today his is the lowest rung of the political hierarchy that is recognized as a salaried job in the emirate.

This entire administrative organization of the lawan can easily be discerned by asking the people of his ward whether they would move to another village if he were transferred or dismissed. There are quite a large number in the ward who would remain. These are not his followers but they do regard him as the leader of their ward and like everyone else in the emirate they see him as the official leader of their village area. They have seen several lawans come and go, and if this particular lawan were to continually overstep the limits of his authority, they would not be averse to making some complaints about him to his superiors. Thus their good will and support must be solicited by the lawan. Indeed such a check on his authority applies to all the people in the village area. Another check which any person in the area has over the lawan is the possibility of migration. Any person is free to move away from the village area into another whenever he wishes, and a serious migration out of some political unit weakens the leadership and is almost always interpreted as a sign of faulty administration by superiors in the emirate government.

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The lawan's son in Magumeri, like many others whose fathers have positions of authority, wisely avoids any active leadership in his father's administration. His job as the adult education organizer for a literary campaign in the entire district keeps him traveling much of the time, and he never interferes with the political organization which he may one day inherit. His father, on the other hand, is one of the few enthusiastic supporters of adult education and enforces the program vigorously in Magumeri since he knows this will help his son's career in the Bornu emirate government. If and when the son should ever replace his father, or gain some political office elsewhere in the kingdom, he would recruit many of his subordinates from the households of his father's followers. Thus superior-subordinate relations are often continued down the generations. Some fall by the wayside because there are always more potential followers available than needed, as the households of followers expand with their own children and clients. However since the son may choose any one within or beyond his father's administration he can insist on only the best performance and the most loyalty from those chosen. On the other hand, should the son not obtain his father's position, and not succeed in any other way in the political or economic life of Bornu, then his father's followers will begin to see that they must find places elsewhere for the younger members of their own households. When this happens the continuity of lawan's administration down the generations begins to disintegrate. This process is repeated at every level of the political hierarchy and lies near the core of political life in Bornu.

On a day-to-day basis the most important matters, especially in rural areas like Magumeri, are taken to the lawan. As we have seen in Chapter 5 he is a central figure in transferring land, using his office as a sort of registry for local land negotiations. He witnesses many marriages and divorces, and arbitrates disputes among those under his jurisdiction. Indeed most of the people living in Magumeri feel more secure about a decision they have made that might affect their neighbors if the matter is ratified and witnessed by a person in authority. Thus if a man in Magumeri village wishes to move his compound walls and expand his dwelling space, he speaks to his ward head about it, and they both go to the lawan to report the intended action. The lawan asks one or two of his followers to find out if the contiguous neighbors object, and if so on what grounds. If there is no objection the action is ratified; if some are forthcoming, then a judicial hearing results in which the lawan hears the case. What this means is that for almost everyone in Bornu, especially in the rural areas, an enormous number of everyday activities are taken through the political system when relations between households are at issue. This in turn means that the political system is close to and very involved with the daily lives of the people.

As a salaried official of the emirate government, the lawan collects taxes from all men over eighteen in the village area. This is based on property assessments of their capital in cash and kind for that particular year. Over-taxing is common in rural areas where the people are illiterate, and even when it is not done, the taxpayers believe it is common. If the over-taxing is too burdensome, it is known that complaints against the lawan to higher officials in Bornu can bring at least an investigation and perhaps lead to his dismissal.

There is no doubt that the lawan can punish people for not recognizing his

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There is no doubt that the lawan can punish people for not recognizing his authority. It is this kind of knowledge that make people aware that they must be sensitive to customary demands made of them by a lawan which if not complied with could bring punitive actions from his use of authority. Let me illustrate this by summarizing an interesting case from field notes:

Bukar is a newcomer to Magumeri. He has been given some land by the lawan and when not farming plies his trade as a hat-maker, and mud house builder. Because he had no previous social ties in the village he has attached himself to the Arabic teacher of the primary school who is a highly respected religious practitioner. This attachment appeals to Bukar because of his strong personal fears of supernatural malevolence. The Arabic teacher gives Bukar a place in the social relations of the village, plus free charms and medicines for illness and bad luck. Bukar looks after the teacher's house, repairs it, cleans it up periodically, and watches it during the latter's absence.

On one of these occasions during the teacher's absence Bukar borrowed some matting from his mentor for use within his own compound. The lawan in whose house there was to be a naming ceremony needed some extra mats for temporary shelters. He sent a follower over to the Arab teacher's compound to borrow some of the extra mats that were stocked there. These were taken, and Bukar was asked what had become of the rest of the mats. Bukar answered that he had borrowed them and that he was in charge of watching the teacher's possessions during the latter's absence. He refused to produce the matting in his own compound and was brought to the lawan where his defiance was rewarded by the lawan telling him that unless he produced the extra matting so that they could be borrowed by the lawan, then he (Bukar) was no better than a common thief. Bukar still refused and the matter was dropped.

When the teacher returned, the lawan complained to him of the disobedience and lack of respect of his man, Bukar. The teacher said nothing, but instead of reprimanding Bukar sent him to fetch back the mats borrowed by the lawan (the ceremony was now over). In so doing he indicated his support of his client, Bukar, against his fellow upperclass member in the town, namely the lawan.

Several months later Bukar was involved in a case against a Fulani nomad herdsman whose cows had strayed into one of his farm plots and eaten his millet. The case came before the lawan who ruled that, although the Fulani had pulled a knife on Bukar (a serious offense requiring a fine), it was Bukar who had started the fight, and it was this act that had caused the cow to wander over Bukar's field and devour his as well as another man's crops, besides causing the argument which made the Fulani pull a knife. Bukar was then fined heavily for starting a fight, fined for the other man's crops, and given an extra fine of five shillings which was to be paid to the district head. Bukar reports that his crops were already eaten before the fight started and besides this he and everyone else knows that pulling a knife during a fight is a separate offense from the fight itself and must be treated as such in court, and the Fulani was not fined for this misdemeanor.

In discussing the matter Bukar's senior, the teacher, explained that lawan was angry at Bukar for his behavior over the mats and was adjudicating against him for this reason. When Bukar finally raised the money for the fine, he was told by the teacher to give the money to the lawan and to say that he, Bukar, was a small, insignificant, poor peasant. He was further instructed to tell the lawan that if there was any help that the lawan needed in house building, he (Bukar) would be pleased to offer his services. The teacher also cautioned Bukar about the future.

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If the lawan continued to adjudicate against him and gave him heavy fines, then he should request to take the case to a higher court. Thus the teacher wished his peasant-follower to make his peace with the lawan but if this were impossible, then higher authorities would be resorted to and the lawan's power bypassed. In other words the teacher felt that the political structure of the town should be respected but within limits.

Bukar's problem illustrates how a lawan can make reprisals when he feels that there has been some lack of recognition given to his authority by those under his administration. There are a large number of things in land matters, general disputes, ceremonials, divorces, default of bad debts, assault, housing, and commerce that come within his perview and intersect the lives of his people at a great many points and in many vulnerable ways. Therefore to thwart his authority and then remain within the orbit of his power without the possibility of reprisals would be impossible.

Recruitment to the office of the lawan is officially carried out by appointment from the emirate government at the capital. There is an official investiture ceremony at the capital, as in the nineteenth century, in which the lawan receives a turban from the Shehu of Bornu. In general there is a tendency, but only a tendency, for lawans to inherit the position. Thus one of the male heirs of the lawan takes over his household site and becomes the new lawan after his death. A male heir can be anyone in the male line of the lawan although sons seem to be favored. On the other hand many of the village areas have a history in which the office has gone to a number of men based on their particular relationship to the district head, the immediate superior of the lawan in the political hierarchy. Thus there is also a tendency for the lawan to be appointed from the ranks of the incumbent district head's followers so that the office also tends to shift from one agnatic descent group to another in relation to shifts in the person of the district head.

One other factor is important in the succession to a lawan's office. This has to do with the political allegiance of the lawan in the political hierarchy of Bornu emirate. If a lawan dies, or is dismissed, and he is not friendly to a new district head, then whether or not the district head attempts to replace him depends (a) on what are the lawan's political connections beyond that of his official superior, the district head, and (b) whether the new district head can procure the loyalty of the lawan and therefore enlist him into his own following. If a lawan has very powerful friends in the emirate, then the new district head could incur their wrath by getting the lawan out of office. A lawan is removed from his village area headship for a number of reasons although they can all be subsumed under three broad categories. First the political maneuverings of a district head who wishes to replace the lawan with his own followers. Secondly, excessive migration out of the village area, or complaints to higher officials by the peasants against the lawan, and thirdly, failure to raise enough taxes. These may, of course, be interrelated so that, for example, migration out of the village area would be spotted in the tax returns or by complaints resulting from the lawan's plan to cover up by taxing those who remain more than is bearable, thus bringing on complaints. However, if a lawan is responsive to his superiors, and does not mulct his peasants to the point of hardship, migration, and complaint, he has a fairly secure position in the Bornu political system.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

The District Organization

In Bornu the lawan represents a link between the higher political authorities and the ordinary peasant. To the people in the rural areas he is the most apparent and easily reached member of the ruling classes. Their hamlet and ward heads are leaders but only in a local sense, while the lawan represents the authority of the central emirate government since he is officially appointed by this body. To many ordinary villagers the exact nature of the political organization above the level of the lawan is not at all clear. They know that beyond the lawan there is the district head and above him the Shehu of Bornu, but the various councils and agencies of the emirate government are things they know very little about in detail.

In terms of the emirate as a whole, however, the district head and his organization of the district is the pivotal political focus in Bornu. His is the office through which all central government policies from the capital are translated into action at the local level. Conversely, if there are any disturbances, irregularities in tax revenues, increases in crime, migration out of the district, or failure in any policy goals or action programs, it is to the district head that all the agencies at the center turn for an explanation.

To the lowly peasant the district head is a man in another world, a world of awesome power, riches, and courtly life. A lawan may go abroad to oversee a new well in one of his hamlets, or to mark off the boundaries of a new farm plot, or to take a tax census, but the district head rarely ever leaves his compound except for the occasional trip to oversee nomad cattle taxation, or to appear in some local ceremonial, or to attend the Shehu's court in the capital. When he does venture forth, it is a royal sally to the playing of pipes and drums, with a troop of galloping horsemen and servants brandishing swords, spears, and muzzle-loading guns. Today this is being changed somewhat by the motorcar which carries the district head quickly and silently, but district heads can still create quite a stir when they wish to go forth officially among the people.

The district organization is basically quite simple. Each of the twenty-one districts in the emirate is identified by the name of its principal village (in some cases these are quite large towns), and this latter serves as the district capital. In this capital lives the district head and his followers and all the district representatives of the various emirate civil service agencies. These include such installations as a district courthouse for the Alkali (judge) and a primary school formerly up to the end of Standard IV, now almost universally up to secondary school entrance. Formally, the district head is responsible for the administration of all the village areas and any nomadic population that may be living within the confines of the district.

The district head is appointed and installed by the Shehu in consultation with his council and the local representatives of the Northern Nigerian government. Only high ranking men in the state are considered and almost all the present district heads are sons of men who held a similar position. There is a growing tendency to try to get men who have some western education, but as yet many of the present district heads speak no English and have not attended western schools. In

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

general, the Shehu must feel he has gained a loyal supporter and any suspicion to the contrary would bar an eligible contender from the position. The same applies in the case of members of the Shehu's council and especially its chairman, the Waziri. People say that would-be applicants give gifts, attempt to link themselves by marriage, and in general ingratiate themselves with the Shehu and his councilors who play the major part in such decisions; however such things are not easy to observe directly. On the other hand several people have told me that they regularly visit influential men in the city bringing gifts of cash and foodstuff and generally paying their respects to these men in the hopes that one day when a proper vacancy occurs, they will obtain the office of lawan. In other words this traditional mode of soliciting an appointment is admitted to for the office of lawan.

In the district capital the district head's house is always at the east end of the town plaza and is the most impressive compound in the village. The compound is regarded as emirate property and can only be used while the incumbent is in office after which time he must move out. In addition each district head has his own compound in the royal ward of Maiduguri in the capital with a residing chief subordinate (*wakil*) who appears at official state functions in the Shehu's court to represent his superior. In his rural area the district head has a large group of followers who live in his own compound and the surrounding vicinity. These men form a group of linked households under their leader, the chief follower of the district head who serves as his deputy in the latter's absence. In Magumeri a few of these followers have been recruited during their own lifetime, but most of them are the sons of men who have always been followers of this district head and his father before him.

At first glance these followers are indistinguishable from ordinary peasants except for the fact that some of them have expensive looking horses given to them by the district head. They help collect nomad cattle taxes, run messages for the district head, and never fail to ride in honor of their leader on special ceremonial occasions or when an important visitor has come to town. Most important they must be willing to leave town or move to another place whenever their superior is stationed elsewhere, while peasants are most often linked by social relations with a particular spot. These men have only one allegiance—that of subordination, discipline and respect to their superior, the district head. Thus they are never fully trusted by the more permanent local residents. Indeed younger members of the district head's following are often feared as well as mistrusted. They have no farms, no wives, and no households of their own. They talk, play cards, drink, look for amorous experiences in the local area, and are felt to be spies for the district head. When such men approach a group of peasant menfolk, the conversation suddenly stops, then slowly begins again on a note of pleasant but iridescent chit-chat in which nothing really serious or informative about local affairs is ever mentioned. Although the hierarchy of lawan and bullama under a district head is his official administrative organization in the district, his followers form an unofficial organization to execute his policies. Unlike the lawan and bullama they are totally dependent upon him for support and status in the society. In return they give him the prestige that comes from having a large retinue of followers. They also organize his tax collections, act as messengers, and sometimes they are even used to discipline lawans who are not complying with administration demands. Thus one lawan complained to a district head that he could not raise the tax assessment for his vil-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

lage area. The district head sent out his followers who gathered about fifty percent more than the original assessment and the lawan was then chastised and sent back with the warning that he must comply in the future with directives from the district head.

District heads' followers are outside the usual jurisdiction of those lower in the hierarchy such as the lawan. When they must be disciplined, or brought to court, they go directly to the district head or less often to the district judge by-passing the judicial authority of the lawan. Peasants seeking retribution for bad debts, adultery, or some other malfeasance committed by a district head's follower must then take the matter before the district head. This is the test of a district head's justice, and often he forces his followers to repay bad debts or fines, even though he himself is probably the one who will eventually pay the fine by advancing the money to his follower. In one case a district head publicly reprimanded one of his followers, paid his fine, then privately threatened to stop supporting this follower as his client for having burnt down a peasant's hut while drunk when the peasant refused to allow his wife to be molested by the follower. A district head who continually protects his own followers against the peasants develops a reputation as a tyrant and an inefficient administrator. Given the present government it is difficult to hide bad administration since complaints by peasants to touring officials usually provide information to people higher up in the political organization concerning the activities of a district head and his organization.

As suggested above there is sometimes a strain in the relations between a district head and the various lawans who head up the village areas within the district. Formally he relays directives from the capital to them in their village areas and they are supposed to carry out these policies. However the district head needs cooperation, often for necessary but somewhat semi-illicit activities and thus needs people he can trust in leadership positions within the district. On his side the lawan is semi-independent because he is a salaried official. District heads are constantly trying to win the affection and loyalty of their lawans, or if necessary to get them expelled, or wait until they retire and then have the office filled by one of their own loyal followers. Because district heads are constantly being retired, dismissed, or transferred from one district to another, each new district head is confronted with a number of lawans who are the loyal followers of predecessors who were district heads in the area.

The records of turnover of lawans, especially in the district capital, where they must see the district head continually, show that in general lawans are dismissed or retired most often shortly after the arrival of a new district head. The case of one lawan in Magumeri illustrates this very common occurrence. From 1921 to 1929 a lawan in Magumeri village area was a follower of the district head of Magumeri District. In 1929 a new district head arrived and suddenly the quality of reports by colonial officials changed. Whereas before this man was reported to be cooperative, intelligent, hard-working, and competent, he was now unpopular with the people, there was much emigration from his village area due to heavy taxation, and he was disrespectful to those in authority. In 1933 he was suspended by the Shehu, and a younger brother of the new district head was appointed to the lawan's office for the Magumeri village area. Examples like this are extremely common in the history of all the districts right up to the present time.

As in the example above there is a tendency for the district heads to ap-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

As in the example above there is a tendency for the district heads to appoint younger brothers to the post of lawan within their own districts. However this has its limits. In one case a lawan confidentially asked the British officials if he could be moved to a district away from the hegemony of his older brother, the district head. That same year (1935) there were a great many complaints by the peasants directed to British officials about the harshness of this particular district head's administration. He was warned but did not comply and was later dismissed. The younger brother sensed that trouble was brewing for the older brother and decided it would be more advantageous to his own career if he could move to another district and not get caught up in the difficulties his brother was creating by his lack of good administration. One district head remarked that he had tried to appoint his own brother in a previous district as lawan, but the young man had done a very bad job and it proved impossible for the district head to control him. The younger brother was finally deposed by the emirate government after his older brother was transferred to a new district. Later he came to his older brother in the latter's new district, hoping for another job as lawan in his brother's administration. However the older brother has no intention of doing so because, as he says, this younger brother is a bad man who oppresses his villagers when he gets a chance and this reflects back on the district head. Thus in Bornu the loyalty of brothers is ameliorated in the political system by the requirements of office.

As we have already noted, local representatives of the various Bornu Native Authority (emirate government) departments are stationed in the district capitals. These include people like the district chief scribe who keeps the books on revenue collection, the district judge, the school teachers, some native authority policemen, veterinary, forestry, and agricultural department representatives and so on. The list varies in length from district to district, but there is a general tendency for it to lengthen through time as the departments expand their programs and services. These officials are paid salaries and live in the district capital although they often get shifted from one district to another. Thus only one of these officials in Magumeri had been there for longer than four years and almost all of them had lived in at least three district capitals during the past ten years. They view themselves as a class apart from the local people; they are city bred or at least city educated; they share a common interest in state and national politics; and their mobility orients them to each other rather than to people outside the civil service. When asked who their best friends are they invariably mention other members of the emirate's civil service. Thus they form a class of urban cosmopolitans on the rural scene.

Their relations to the district head are complex and in some ways similar to that of the district head to his lawans when these latter are appointees of a previous district head. The native authority official is not necessarily a follower of the district head, and he does have a separate salary. Usually the official and the district head maintain a respectful but carefully measured social distance from one another. The local officials are often asked to eat at the compound of the district head which emphasizes their common urban upper-class membership and separateness as a group from the rural population. However, they generally do not become members of the district head's following. They have their own careers to follow, and though friendship with the district head is useful, it could also impede their success because of demands made upon them by the district head which might conflict with those of their own departmental superiors in the capital.

175 Kukawa while their slaves and subordinates administered their
565 lands and collected taxes. Slaves of the Shehu could them-
631 selves be chimas, and in fact some of the highest titles--
[567] those of Kaigama (a general of the army), and Mastrema (a
[554] eunuch) were reserved for slaves of the Shehu.

175 The "knights" of the Shehu were titled lords, who served
631 as his kabuna. Each lord also had his own kabuna, who vowed
565 allegiance directly to him. The kabuna of the lord actually
567 administered his lands while he lived in the capital. Many of
them were his slaves, but just as slaves of the Shehu could
themselves be powerful nobles, so too slaves of a lord who
were his kabuna were powerful individuals in the villages under
[632] the jurisdiction of their lord. From his kabuna the lord se-
[627] lected the most trustworthy and rewarded them by having them
appointed town heads (Lowan), or to a lesser extent village
heads (Bulama). The Lowan of a town was directly involved in
administering his town, in adjudicating disputes through arbi-
tration and in collecting the property tax (haraji).

634 It was said that the chima was almost the absolute author-
173 ity in his lands. If he saw a horse that he wished to have or
642 a woman whom he admired, he could have them simply by indicat-
ing that he wanted to possess them. No man would refuse him
[643] directly. However, if reports came to the Shehu that a chima
was acting irresponsibly the Shehu could reprimand the man,
175 and could even remove his title from him. Any man could ap-
643 peal directly to the Shehu for justice. The power of the Shehu
642

175 Heads or Ajias. The only important difference between the two,
178 from the point of view of the Kanuri farmer, is that the Ajia
648 lived in the capital of his District, while the chima lived in
634 Kukawa. There were, in fact, great differences between the
[642] two, because the British Resident ultimately controlled all policy decisions at the upper levels. But the Kanuri villager knew little of this. It is striking to note how many of the District Heads in 1956-1957 were the heads of the same noble families from which the chimas of the last century were chosen. The British, with or without knowing it, had kept the aristocratic families in positions of political power, at the same time preserving the old political structure of the empire.

175 The Ajias, in their turn, have kept their own kabuna to
634 help them in administering their districts. From their kabuna
• 632 they have selected the most trusted to serve as Lowans. Since many of the Ajias came from the nobility, they had many slaves whom they inherited from their fathers. These were frequently their most trusted kabuna, though not all kabuna are slaves. Many of the Ajias are slaves of the Shehu, and many of the Low-
[695] ans are slaves of the Ajias. Ajia and Lowan alike settle dis-
[651] putes, and collect taxes, their two most important functions.

C. Religion

779 The Kanuri are Moslems. Islam entered Bornu in the elev-
[175] enth century, and since that time has spread throughout the entire Kanuri population. Unlike the Hausa, where a large part

779 38 [593] marriage contract, is a common Islamic feature. Sexual rights of the husband, as well as his responsibilities for the support of his wife, are supported by Islamic law. Lastly, Islam does not necessarily recognize marriage as a permanent arrangement; [182] consequently divorce is simple and commonly resorted to. All of these practices, commonly associated with Islamic societies, are characteristic of Kanuri society and are well integrated in Kanuri custom concerning marriage and the family.

D. The Community

162 [161] The population of Bornu Emirate is just over a million people. About one-third live in towns with a population of more than 7,000 (see Table I). Following Maiduguri, the capital, which has a total population of 83,327 including the outlying villages, but only 56,777 in the town proper, there are ten towns with populations exceeding 10,000. The average size of these ten towns is 13,879. There are 16 more towns in Bornu Emirate with populations of between 7,000 and 10,000. These 26 towns, plus Maiduguri proper, account for 325,640 people, almost a third of the population.

369 632 121 Although there may be some question whether a town with a population of 10,000 may properly be called "urban," it is clear that on the folk-urban continuum, such towns are distinctly approaching the urban pole[1]. These towns have few or none of the

1. If Miner can call Timbuktu, with its population of 6,500, a "primitive city," then these are certainly towns, or "urban centers." see Horace Miner, The Primitive City of Timbuktu (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 52]

369 632 121 characteristics of the folk society; individuals are specialists of one sort or another; the towns are centers of government at the district level; and stratification rather than social homogeneity characterizes their populations. In this sense it is important to distinguish between Kanuri culture in its urban manifestations and Kanuri culture in the rural villages. These two types of community exemplify two concomitant variants of Kanuri culture. Since there is no sharp line of demarcation indicating at which point a village turns into a town, the distinctions made here are seen to shade imperceptibly into one another. At their extremes, however, the differences are considerable.

621 [622] Probably the bulk of the populace live in villages of less than 1,000 people. A Lowan, or more typically a Bulama in the smaller village, is the appointed political head of the village. [463] There is little or no specialization, and everybody farms and depends entirely on the products of his agricultural labors. [622] The Bulama lives at the same level as the rest of the village. He may own a horse, and his household may be slightly larger, [565] but he works in the fields as does everyone else. One man may be slightly wealthier than his neighbor, and may own several sheep and goats, but social classes do not exist. Villages are [595] divided into compounds, within which a family lives. By and [592] large, men in the villages have but a single wife, and she and 342 her children will live within the compound walls. In the villages, the compound walls are of woven mats (sogdi). The houses are almost entirely of the round-walled, thatched-roof type.

342 This is one of two house types which the Kanuri build, and is predominant in the villages. There are several variants of this house type. The walls may be of mud bricks, or they may be of
363 woven mats. The first is of course more permanent. Paths separate groups of compounds, and larger streets divide the village. Trees are allowed to grow within the village to provide
361 shade, but other vegetation is removed. Since Bornu is a flat plain, the huts of the small villages, amid the shade trees, jut out from the surrounding cleared landscape in dry season and are visible from a distance.

632 [366] The towns are market centers, and frequently also administrative centers. Towns of some size are divided into wards, and each ward will have its own Lowan. The wards (nguro) are
632 in turn made up of compounds. In the towns, stratification in
565 the social structure is pronounced and wealth differences be-
556 tween heads of families may be great. This is reflected in size
342 of compound and in house type. While the house type and compound of the poor commoner (talaka) in the town may be identical with that of the typical villager (compound walls made of sogdis enclosing a plot on which is built a single round-walled, thatched hut), the compounds of wealthy and important men are enclosed in walls of mud bricks some ten feet high, and the single entrance (chinna) may be framed in an impressive archway. The area of the compounds of important men may be several thousand square yards, and there may be upwards of twenty houses within. The predominant house type of the wealthy man in the

632 565 342 556 town is a square flat-roofed house built entirely of mud bricks, with an adobe veneer and turreted roof decoration.

361 Blocks of contiguous compounds, with their entrance-ways facing out onto the streets, make up clusters which are similar to a city block. [363] Streets are laid out on a grid pattern, [492] some narrow and others wide thoroughfares. There is little vehicular traffic, but there is a fair amount of traffic made up of camels and donkeys used as pack animals, and men on horses.

632 [563] Wards may have different characters, especially in large towns with non-Kanuri populations, where different ethnic groups will all cluster in one ward. Wards are also often sub-divided [463] into neighborhoods. These take their character from a particular type of craft localized in a neighborhood, or a single group of tradesmen dealing in the same commodity whose compounds are found located in one neighborhood.

632 361 Every Kanuri town is built around a central plaza called the dandal. The dandal is a cleared area running east to west, faced with compounds and various public buildings on its north and south sides. The western border is frequently open. At the eastern end, with the dandal stretching out before it, is the entranceway to the compound of the Lowan or Ajia, the focal point of a Kanuri town. The entranceway of the Lowan or Ajia's [614] compound always faces west, into the setting sun. The palace of the Shehu in Maiduguri (the Shehuri) fronts on the great dandal; at its far end is one of the gates of the city.

000 Two other foci of the Kanuri town are the market-place and

632 366 368 Two other foci of the Kanuri town are the market-place and the central mosque. The market-place is of course the center for all local trade, and on the particular market day of a town, activities center in the market, which is alive with people. On Friday, the central mosque, where people gather to pray, becomes the communal center. Throughout the week the compound of the Ajia (the Ajari), should the town be the administrative center of a district, is the focus of bureaucratic activity. In addition, activity centers around other public buildings: the court, the school, the dispensary, the public reading room, etc.

369 632 463 The three foci of the Kanuri town indicated above, the Ajari, the market-place, and the mosque, are of themselves strong arguments for the urban nature of the Kanuri town. Each is typically the center of an urban activity and urban occupations. The Ajia has, under him, a range of bureaucratic specialists: the Alkali, the Chief Scribe, the Treasurer, the Department of Police, the school-teachers and dispenser. The mosque is representative of the various religious specialists: the Imam, and the many malams of the town. The market-place typifies commercial activity, which more than anything else is characteristic of urban life, with its various specialists in trade and in crafts.

E. Social Organization

611 171 182 Unlike the majority of African societies, the Kanuri do not have unilineal descent. As Meyer Fortes notes, "The more

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121 individual character, to an entire culture, many times the size of his single community.

The present study is, then, a community study, as must [10] usually be the case in the study of complex societies. The community is the town of Geidam, where the author and his wife lived for one year, from the ending of the rains in 1956 until the rains ceased once again in 1957.

A. The geography and ecology of Geidam.

162 632 Geidam, with its population of 11,032 is one of the largest towns in Bornu Province (see Table I) and represents urban Kanuri 563 culture. The people of the countryside between Geidam and 197 Nguru, some 110 miles to the west, are predominantly Manga, a Kanuri sub-group speaking a Kanuri dialect which differs slightly from Kanuri proper. To the east, towards Damasak, are Mobber, 101 another sub-group. In the town of Geidam, however, the towns- 197 [369] folk are Kanuri, and speak standard Kanuri. This is primarily because urban Kanuri in Geidam have more in common with urban Kanuri coming from other large towns and cities, and share more with them than they do with the farming peoples of the small villages surrounding Geidam.

131 Geographically, Geidam lies in the northernmost part of the province, in fact, the northernmost part of Nigeria, since the border separating Nigeria from the independent country of 133 Niger is only twenty miles north. The land is a flat sandy [137] plain, with scrub vegetation, which becomes increasingly more

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366 The Geidam market-place represents one such focus of communal activity. It is an area 186 yards by 150 yards, with rows of permanent stalls made of grass mats, and occasional trees. 443 People are present in the market every day, buying and selling, but these are few in number and are limited largely to sellers of food staples. Wednesday is market day in Geidam, and on that day, thousands of people crowd the paths and the stalls, chatting, bargaining, buying and selling. People come into Geidam from a radius of ten to fifteen miles to attend the Wednesday market; and literally everyone in the town visits the market-place on market day at some point during the day.

361 632 As was mentioned earlier, every Kanuri town is built in a "U" pattern around an open plaza, the dandal. The over-all U-pattern is still apparent in Geidam, but since Geidam is a large town whose growth has been uneven, expansion has destroyed the [634] symmetry of the physical plan of the town. The dandal is still very much in evidence, and at its eastern face is the Ajari, the [351] compound of the District Head (Ajia) of Geidam. The dandal leads directly to the gate, or chinna of his compound, which forms a second important focus of communal activity. Much administrative activity occurs in the cleared area before the chinna of the [527] Ajia's compound. In addition, much ceremonial activity, involving displays of horsemanship by the men serving under the Ajia, [526] takes place before the chinna of his house. Many forms of recre- [535] ation, dancing and wrestling, are also held at the head of the dandal, while multitudes of townspeople gather along the borders of the dandal to watch.

ooo and religious activity.

2. Wards and Neighborhoods.

• 632 [634] Since the town of Geidam is the administrative center of Geidam District, the Ajia of Geidam is the central political figure in the town. A town itself, however, is administered by a Lowan. Formerly, Geidam had one Lowan; however, as the town grew in size, it was subdivided into wards (nguro). Geidam has three wards,and each has its own Lowan. Each of the wards has its own character, and although many activities have reference to the town of Geidam as a whole, other activities are limited to a ward, or centered within a particular ward. Two of the [563] wards are almost entirely Kanuri and have Kanuri Lowans; the third is predominantly Hausa and has a Hausa Lowan.

The "U" of the town surrounding the dandal represents the center of the old town and is solidly Kanuri. This is the ward of Lowan Ashek, a kabuna of the Ajia. Political and administrative activities of a higher order center in Lowan Ashek's ward. The overwhelming majority of the Ajia's kabuna (47 of the 54 kabuna) live there. A small section of the river area falls under his jurisdiction as well since his ward stretches [732] westward to include the river-edge. At the northeastern tip of Lowan Ashek's ward is the section where the blind live.

The second Kanuri ward is under Lowan Kolo Kolo, who also is a kabuna of the Ajia. His ward is largely but not entirely Kanuri. Under his jurisdiction is the market and most of the

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632 river. The compounds of several wealthy Hausa traders face the
[563] market-place in the western end of Lowan Kolo Kolo's ward. The
[463] butchers, who are almost all Hausa and have a Hausa head-man, are within Lowan Kolo Kolo's ward but fall under the jurisdiction of the Hausa Lowan.

632 563 The third ward making up the town of Geidam has only a sprinkling of Kanuri living there. It is the most populous ward of the three and is predominantly Hausa. Its Lowan is Serəkin Garba, a prominent member of the Hausa community. This ward has been growing most rapidly in recent years, and the direction of expansion has been south and west, where whole new sections have grown up. Along the western border of the town, stretching southward, live all the Ibos and Yorubas, Southern Nigerians and predominantly Christian, numbering several hundred.
[366] A string of small canteens run by Ibos and Yorubas faces the
[368] western border. In this ward is to be found the church for
[273] Christian members of the Geidam community, and the Charity Hotel where beer is sold.

632 563 Ethnic stratification is very marked in Geidam. All southerners, Ibos and Yorubas, live in the Hausa ward along with almost the entire Hausa population of Geidam. Only a scattering
632 563 167 of Hausas are found in the Kanuri wards. Within the Kanuri wards are found small clusters of other tribes, notably Bouzous and Dagara, serfs of the Tuareg who come down into the settled plains area to towns like Geidam, where they work at menial jobs for periods of time. When they have accumulated some money they re-

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632 563 167 turn to their northern villages. A group of Bouzou work at camel transport, and live in a cluster near the slaughter-slab area. Another group of Bouzou work as water-carriers and come [162] to live in Geidam between agricultural seasons. They all, up to thirty in number, live in the compound of Lowan Ashek.

632 621 Lastly a group of pagans are to be found in a small hamlet called Koldi, about 400 yards northwest of the town proper. [162] There are forty-five households in Koldi, with a total popula- [622] tion of 134. Koldi has its own Bulama, but Lowan Ashek serves [651] as the Lowan of Koldi and is responsible for tax collection 632 there. The people of Koldi are largely pagan (kordi), and mem- 621 563 bers of the following tribes are found there: Banana, Kim, Ka- 177 bam, Ngizim, Kabalia, Mandara, Kotoko, Gwoza and Fulani. Most of these are tribes found east and south of the Shari River, whose people are pagan or partially Islamized. This is the shatter-belt area between the Empires of Bornu and those of [302] Mandara and Bagirmi. The women of Koldi all do their hair in the Kanuri manner, and the people of Koldi are strongly acculturated to the Kanuri. In fact many Kanuri are found living in [771] Koldi. They are characterized primarily by their lax attitude [273] towards Islam, and are considered pagan because they brew millet beer there. No beer is brewed in Geidam proper, so that Kanuri youths wishing to partake of the local brew are forced to slip [534] away unseen to Koldi. Drumming can constantly be heard in the 632 evenings from the direction of Koldi. The people of Koldi all 621 [243] have farms of millet in the surrounding area, but in addition [285] [463]

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632 621 [248] [335] [463] they specialize in the making of heavy reed mats (sogdis). Economic specialization along ethnic lines is a common characteristic of the area.

632 463 563 Several types of economic specialty have been mentioned for differing groups in the Geidam community. Each of these is found localized in a particular section of a ward, where those who practice that specialty are grouped. Ibos and Yorubas are small tradesmen in their section of the Hausa ward. Butchers are almost all Hausas, and are to be found clustered together in one ward. Bouzous are either water carriers or transporters who use camels, and each group is found localized in its area.

632 463 The people of Koldi make sogdis. Among the Kanuri proper, groups specializing in a single economic activity are also found living [732] together in a single localized neighborhood within one ward. For [283] example, the blind specialize in the making of rope, and live as [62] an organized sub-community in their quarter. They have their [622] own head, called the Kaigama, because he is to the Shehu of the blind, who lives in Maiduguri, as the real Kaigama is to the Shehu of Bornu. Other Kanuri craftsmen can be found localized [281] in particular sections. Tanners and dyers live in specific [285] areas grouped around the tanning pits and the dying vats. Crafts- [323] men who make the fine sitting mat (bəli), potters and well-diggers are localized in their own sections; other types of craftsmen, [441] however, are dispersed through the town. Many of the tradesmen [735] are also found clustered in particular neighborhoods. Beggars are found together, and, as has been noted, the Ajia's kabuna tend to live in one ward.

tend to live in one ward.

632 571 621 The net effect of the clustering of specialized groups within certain wards is to create sub-communities or neighborhoods within each ward. A neighborhood may comprise people who are ethnically alike, or people who practice the same trade, or both. The bond between neighbors, who live in adjacent or nearby compounds, is strengthened by the second bond of practicing the same trade. Neighborhoods are groupings within wards, within which patterns of friendship and visiting tend to occur [576] [935] with high frequency. A common Kanuri greeting is, "How is your ward?" On a religious feast day a wealthy man distributes charity to the people of his neighborhood. A bond exists between people of one ward who now find themselves living in a different town. A person will often say, "I know him very well. We're from the same ward. I watched him grow up." These are all examples of recognition that the neighborhood and the ward are [622] [181] social units which are significant in everyday life. In addition, since Kanuri life is so structured and hierarchical, craftsmen and tradesmen are frequently organized under a head. The compound of the headman of a group then become the focal point of a neighborhood, just as the compound of each Lowan is the center of his ward.

C. Economy on the Communal Level.

128 The economic activities of the people of Geidam will be discussed in this section, in contrast to the Kanuri economy gen-

[GEIDAM]

the ruling body in Bornu Emirate. Native Authority (NA) officials, under the overall jurisdiction of the Shehu, are appointed by the Shehu's council (modulas). These include the Ajia, the highest official representing the NA in a district, and all the lesser office-holders in that district. In Geidam District, Yerima Mustapha is the most important political figure. Second in importance to Yerima Mustapha in Geidam is the Alkali of Geidam, Alkali Baba Kura Imambe, who served as Alkali in Geidam for most of the year in which the present study was done, and then was promoted to a higher court. The three Lowans, Lowan Ashek, Lowan Kolo Kolo, and Serokin Garba, Lowan of the Hausa ward, follow. Their jurisdiction is limited to their own wards within the town. Then follow a long list of officials, all NA appointees, each with his own area of specialization: the Chief Scribe, Treasurer, Primary School Headmaster and three teachers, Agricultural expert, Veterinary, Hides and Skins Inspector, Forestry expert, Local Government Advisor, Adult Education Organizer, Dispenser, and Sanitation Inspector. The Chief Scribe and the Treasurer both have assistants. Lowest of the NA officials are the NA messengers. Six NA messengers are attached to the Ajia of Geidam; one NA messenger serves the Alkali.

Most of the officials listed above serve the district of Geidam, though all are permanently stationed in the town. The Ajia and his staff, headed by the Chief Scribe and the Treasurer, are responsible for the administration of the entire dis-

[GEIDAM]

634 trict. The Alkali is in charge of the Geidam District court,
692 a grade 'C' court according to the British ranking system, but
692 the most important of the district courts. The Headmaster and his three teachers run the Geidam Primary School. The various experts, such as the veterinary, dispenser, etc., are all educated men who have been trained in their specialty. They are, however, NA appointees and are directly under the authority
692 of the Ajia. Only the Lowans are concerned solely with the town itself, and they, too, it will be seen, are directly responsible to the Ajia.

618 The British instituted a formal Village Council, with an
634 elected membership of fifteen to twenty. The Ajia is Chairman, and Alhaji Amadu Kolon, an important canteen owner and trader, is the elected vice-chairman. There is also a District Council similarly instituted, with the Ajia again as Chairman. Its twenty-five to thirty members are all Lowans of Geidam Dis-
178 trict, save for four or five. In contrast to these formal councils, there is an informal and traditional Kanuri council which consists of the people who come and sit at the gateway (chinna) of the Ajari while Yerima Mustapha is arbitrating disputes. It is made up of a shifting membership, some more permanent than others, which includes important kabuna of the Ajia's, NA officials who are in a special relationship with the Ajia, and some of the important citizens of the town.

634 Only the Alkali is not under the direct authority of the
692 Ajia, and in theory the courts and the executive branch, repre-

[GEIDAM]

175 [103] was an old town called Geidam Balara, from which the town today takes its name. In the eighteenth century, when the capital of Bornu was at Birni Ngazargamo not far off, Geidam was part of the Mai's lands. Later, when Kukawa became the capital, and the Mais were replaced by the Shehus, Geidam became part 175 634 [682] of the fief granted to the Imam. Since Geidam District is very large, it was divided among a number of chimas. The town of Geidam (Domjeri and Geidam Balara, at that time) was controlled by Kazella Ibrahim Geidama, a slave of the Imam who served as chima gana (literally little chima--serving the real chima who lived in the capital). Geidam was a kalyari, an area under the authority of a slave.

The first Ajia of Geidam, in the early years of the twentieth century was Kazella Sulama, a slave of the Shehu's. He was followed by Aba Rafega, a son of Shehu Ibrahim, who served [648] as Ajia of Geidam until his death in 1915. Maiduguri had not yet been built and the Mounted Infantry, along with many Europeans, were stationed in Geidam. Aba Rafega was the most important of the Ajias at that time. Kazella Kakami (Kaigama) then became the Ajia of Geidam, where he served for almost thirty years until his death in January, 1944. Kaigama Kakami was the son of Kaigama Bilel, the commander of the army during the days of Shehu Laminu. His son, Kaigama Zubairu, succeeded to the title of Kaigama and to the office of Ajia of Geidam. Kaigama Zubairu remained Ajia of Geidam for ten years, until he was demoted to a smaller district, Damboa, in 1954. In 1954 Yerima

[GEIDAM]

159 634 559 Bornu, Shehu Umar, succeeded to the throne in 1937. A year later he conferred the title of "Yerima" on Yerima Mustapha. The title "Yerima" is one of the highest Kanuri titles. It had been held by a Kanuri family, but at the time that Yerima Mustapha succeeded to it, the last title-holder had left no sons. Several members of the Shehu's own family sought the title, but it was given to Yerima Mustapha because he had been close to the Shehu, though his own family had no claim to the title of "Yerima." In 1943 Yerima Mustapha was made the Ajia in Magumeri where his family had lived for generations. He replaced the dismissed Aba Jatau, son of Shehu Garbai, as Ajia in Magumeri. For eleven years Yerima Mustapha remained in Magumeri; in 1954 he was moved to Geidam District, the largest in the province, after Kaigama Zubairu was demoted.

175 632 634 The personal history of the Lowans of Geidam is intimately bound to the history of the several Ajias who have governed in the district. In the course of the eleven years that Yerima served as Ajia of Magumeri a number of his most trusted kabuna were appointed as Lowans in the district. When Yerima left Magumeri, among the heritage left for the Ajia who replaced him, Digma, were the many Lowans who had sworn allegiance to the departed Ajia. They included Lowan Maina, Lowan of Magumeri town, formerly Yerima's Wakil. In identical fashion, Kaigama Zubairu left Lowans in Geidam who had been his kabuna previously. The two Kanuri Lowans of Geidam at the time that Yerima came there were Lowan Ashek and Lowan Kagu. Lowan Kagu

[GEIDAM]

175 was a very young man, whose father had been a Lowan under Kai-
632 gama before him. In fact, years earlier Geidam had had one
634 Lowan instead of three--and the single Lowan had been the grand-
father of Lowan Kagu. Then the town was split into three wards,
each with its Lowan. At that time, Lowan Ashek, who had been
a kabuna of Kaigama's and his slave as well, became a Lowan.
Lowan Kagu's father was also made Lowan of a ward, succeeding
his father; and the young Lowan Kagu in turn succeeded his
father at his father's death.

175 The Lowans of Geidam were loyal to the departed Kaigama,
632 but now it was necessary to demonstrate that they could trans-
634 fer their loyalty to Yerima Mustapha, the new Ajia of Geidam
66 and their new master. Lowan Ashek, an older and more experi-
enced man, was able to do this. He became one of Yerima's
kabuna, and while he is far from the most trusted of Yerima's
men, he continues to serve as Lowan under Yerima since he knows
the people of his ward well and had been performing the job for
some years. Lowan Kagu was young, and was unable to control
his feelings in the face of strains created by the situation.
He, too, might have bridged the difficult transition as Lowan
Ashek had done, had he had more experience in office. As it
was, he was dismissed shortly after Yerima's arrival because
he lost his temper in an argument with Yerima and threw a book
in his face.

Yerima was then free to appoint one of his own men to re-
place Lowan Kagu. When he was approached and asked whom he

.2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

[GEIDAM]

wished to have as the new Lowan, he replied that he was indifferent. The name of Kolo Kolo was then submitted to the town council, the only name submitted. Eight council members voted for Kolo Kolo as new Lowan; two wrote in other names. Kolo Kolo then became the new Lowan. He had been a resident in Geidam for twenty years before Yerima came to the town, and had been an important dilelma dealing in cows. Kolo Kolo is of the same family as Yerima's mother. When Yerima came to Geidam as Ajia, Kolo Kolo joined him as a kabuna, one of the more important kabuna. At the first opportunity he was made a Lowan. He is a good choice as Lowan as he has long been a resident of Geidam, and is acceptable to the townspeople. At the same time, he is a kabuna of Yerima's, and is completely devoted to Yerima, who made it all possible. Yerima bears no grudge against Lowan Kagu. He specifically states that if Lowan Kagu, who is still a young man, has learned from the experience and can demonstrate through his behavior that his attitudes have changed, he may well be appointed Lowan again, should a future opportunity arise. Indeed, it appears that Yerima would welcome this, were he assured of Lowan Kagu's loyalty to him, as it would smooth over old rifts and would restore Lowan Kagu to a position which had long been in his family and to which he was entitled.

The courts in Bornu are intended, theoretically, to operate independently from the political arm of government, and in particular to be free of all influence from the Ajias. The

000 unduly exploiting the populace.

651 The second duty is to collect taxes. These fall into two categories: haraji--a tax on houses, sheep and goats, and [565] other forms of property and jangali--a tax on cattle. Since cattle are so important in the economy of the area, much tax revenue is derived from jangali of which there are three forms: nomad jangali, collected from the semi-nomadic pastoral peoples, Kwoyam, Buduwai, Shuwa Arab, and particularly Fulani, by far the largest pastoral group in Geidam; village jangali; [632] road and market jangali. Haraji and village jangali are collected by the Lowans of each village. Within the town of Geidam, road and market jangali is collected by Lowan Kolo Kolo [634] since the market lies within his ward. Nomad jangali is collected by the Ajia.

651 632 634 Several months before haraji is to be collected the Lowan compiles a list of all tax payers under his jurisdiction. This list is sent to Maiduguri and then to Kaduna, the capital of the Northern Region, for inspection. On its return to him, he collects the haraji tax. In Geidam District a kabuna is sent off to each Lowan in the district to be present when the lists [618] are compiled. This is counter to British colonial regulations which are designed to make the Lowan independent of the Ajia, [626] and responsible only to the provincial administration. Yerima's argument, however, is that the Lowans will not properly assess their villagers unless a stranger, the kabuna, is present to assure that they do not under-assess in making up the lists.

[GEIDAM]

634 Northern House of Assembly. An elected office created by the
177 British which is an important new source of power has been
178 successfully captured by a member of the old aristocracy which
565 previously held all political power. Other new offices cre-
[648] ated by the colonial administration are to be found in the
634 District and Town Councils. Thus far, the District and Town
• 632 Councils in Geidam are dominated by the Ajia. But the member-
177 ship of the Town Council in particular is largely composed of
178 wealthy traders and a few craftsmen, who are all talaka. These
565 talaka do not yet have real political power but they have more
665 symbolic power than talaka have ever had before, and their po-
648 sitions may in time give them real power. The same is also
true for the officers of the Northern Peoples Congress (NPC)
in Geidam, who are also talaka and controlled by the Ajia, but
who may in time emerge with real power through their positions
within the dominant political party in Bornu and in Northern
Nigeria. As yet, rival political parties in the North, the
Northern Elements Peoples Union (NEPU) and the Bornu Youth
Movement (BYM), have been effective only in large cities like
Maiduguri. They have made little impression in Geidam.

439 Perhaps the greatest changes in community structure have
177 been those brought about by influences of the Industrial West
433 on trade, particularly on external trade. Though trade has
always been important in Kanuri culture and middlemen in trade
have always existed as specialists in Kanuri cities, it is
probable that a larger proportion of the total economy is de-

177 Western education are few in number, they form a significant
871 category in the community. In their most advanced form they
[632] are represented by the class of NA Malams, who are best cate-
gorized as a group which functions primarily as part of the
177 political structure. Since traditional formal education was
871 entirely in the hands of the Koranic Malams, this area of in-
554 fluence affects them most directly. Learning in Kanuri cul-
ture has always been associated with prestige, and the most
learned people were also among the most respected. This is
true for Koranic Malams, and is also true, to an extent, for
those who receive a Western education since they, too, are
[578] referred to as "Malam." As a result of this, a conflict has
arisen concerning the two forms of education, and the rela-
177 tive merits of each. However, since Western-educated indi-
871 viduals who continue their education and receive specialized
632 training tend to accept NA positions--so that the best edu-
cated individuals in Geidam are all NA Malams--the primary
activities of Western-educated Kanuri are associated with the
political system. Therefore they are not in conflict with
those, such as the scholars of the Koran, who are concerned
primarily with religion. Rather, they threaten individuals
who, through traditional associations, are involved in the
political system but have received little or no Western edu-
cation.

177 It is evident from the above discussion that contact with
178 the Western world has created new paths to wealth, power, and
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[BEIDAH]

Table XV.

124 Age distribution of the sample and of each of the eight groups

	Mean age	Range
NA Malams	32.67	25-44
Talaka	36.5	22-51
Low-status Individuals	37.75	25-47
Aristocracy	39.4	24-56
Entire sample median = 40	39.55	22-60
Craftsmen	40.0	30-57
Koranic Malams	43.67	30-56
Canteen Operators	43.67	40-47
Kabuna	45.67	35-60

for each of the eight groups which are compared in this chapter are also given in Table XV. The means of six of the eight groups are within four years of the mean age of the entire sample. The two extreme groups, the NA Malams (mean age = 32.67) and the Kabuna (mean age = 45.67) are in one case somewhat younger and in the other case somewhat older than the en-
[121] tire group. This age difference might be expected to have some effect on the hypotheses advanced earlier, since one might expect younger individuals to be more acculturated than older
• [122] individuals. Unfortunately, the NA Malams as a group tend to be young, so that the head-master of the school is only twenty-five years old. Malam Ali Mandara, the Chief Scribe, is forty-four years old and has been included in the sample. He is
124 probably the oldest NA Malam in the town. Conversely, the Ka-
*634 buna tend to be an older group, and the thirty-five and thirty-

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103 The locality within the Emirate in which concentrated field work has been carried out is Magumeri situated about thirty-five miles northwest of Maiduguri on a motor road. Magumeri is the name of
162 both the district and its capital town. The area has a much higher
634 proportion of Kanuri than the Emirate in general. In Magumeri district ninety-six per cent of the population are Kanuri while this is true of only sixty-two per cent in the Emirate as a whole.

162 The district contains 52,000 people (1952) and has an area
634 of approximately four hundred square miles. Within its boundaries
632 there are sixteen village area units including the Magumeri village area. This village area has a population of 4,200 of which roughly 2,000 live in the village proper and 2,200 live in hamlets within the village area.

When compared to other rural district capitals in the Emirate, Magumeri village area is slightly smaller than the average. Excluding the two large cities of Nguru and Maiduguri, the population range for district capitals varies from 1,400 to 11,000, and the average is 5,100 persons. Seven district capitals are smaller and eleven are
[166] larger than Magumeri village area. It is reported by long term residents to have been a much larger village at one time but to have been losing population steadily over the past twenty years to Maiduguri.

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621 Like all other Kanuri settlements, Magumeri is built in a U shape around a central plaza (dandal) open at the west end with the house of the highest ranking person at the east end facing west. Lesser political leaders in the village have their own smaller plazas, again
366 with their houses at the east end facing west. Another feature common to all Kanuri settlements is the placing of the butcher's section at the southwest side of a town or market so that the prevailing winds from
000 the northeast carry the odour away. Like other district capitals,

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648 before the fiefs developed into Districts it was discovered that a divi-
634 sion of interests was involved between the British authorities and the
643 Shehu. The British were motivated by their own ideas of administration, i.e. to form "a chain of responsibility" from the local level up through the Shehu to the Resident, while the Shehu evidently tried to have as many fiefs created as possible in order that there would be a multitude of District Heads, thereby increasing the number of offices with which he could reward his supporters. The matter was settled by the British who limited the number of districts to a compromise between what they believed to be the traditional structure, and what they considered to be a workable arrangement in terms of their own requirements of administering the Emirate.

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648 When the District Head arrived in his District with his retinue
634 of supporters he found that the local Village Headmen (the Lawan), who
632 were strange to him, were being supported by the British because of their hereditary claims to village leadership. The British soon discovered that it had been the policy of the traditional fief-holder "to supplant the hereditary headmen by slaves (or followers) of the Chima."(1) Nevertheless, when a new fief-holder took office they conducted investigations to find who were the pre-British (and usually pre-Rabeh) Village Headmen and proceeded to appoint these people as Village Heads. In following this policy a political structure was created which utilised two potentially conflicting principles of social organisation. In appointing District Heads the personal relationships of upper class leaders to the Shehu was considered to be the acceptable criteria, while the hereditary claims of local leaders were considered to be the basis for Village Headships. Thus,

(1) Patterson, J.E. Report on Maguneri District 1920; in Maguneri District Notebook; Provincial Office, Maiduguri, Bornu Prov. Nigeria.

175 648 634 632 the new District Head going out to his district was confronted with a situation in which he had a territory comprising a group of villages which were to be under his organized administration, and which were at the same time headed by people with whom he had no personal relationships.

Entering into this situation, the District Head responded in several ways. He could try to win the loyalty of the local Village Heads to himself, or conversely some Village Heads, sensing danger in the new situation, might come to the District Head and ask to be "his man." This meant that the District Head had expanded his following to include the Village Head. However, there were obstacles to this simple method of rapprochement. If the Village Head already had a strong functioning relationship to some other "big man" in the Kanuri state who was a powerful person in the post-1900 organization, or if the District Head was anxious to reward his own supporters with lucrative and prestige giving roles, then this method was not too successful. The District Head could also 175 648 634 632 661 try to manipulate the situation so that the Village Heads who he found the most truculent in accepting his overlordship, were regarded as inefficient, corrupt, or immoral in the eyes of the British, so that they would be deposed and then he could replace them with recruits from among his own following. Thus, in 1919, a British District Officer (D.O.) visiting Magumeri District, was told by Abba Kiari, then District Head of Magumeri, that two of the Village Heads in his District were inefficient and should be deposed. He felt also that because of the proximity of the two towns they should be united under one Village Head, and he offered one of his own followers as the logical candidate for the new appointment.(1) Finally, the District Head could simply carry on as if the British were

(1) Whitely: Report on Magumeri 1919; in Magumeri District Notebook

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not present and appoint *chima gana* to live in each village of the District, who would collect taxes, levy fines, and hold judicial hearings, i.e. act as Village Headmen even though incumbents for these roles had already been appointed by the British. This led to an order by the Resident of Bornu in 1910 to the effect that no District Head could station his men in any of the towns of his District with the exception of his own headquarters. However, the provincial records indicate that the *chima* problem plagued the administration right up until the 1930's.

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Besides the structural difficulties which resulted in the political organisation from the colonial contact, a major functional problem emerged in the area of taxation. By 1904 a tax collection system based on assessments made from rough estimates was instituted. Each village was assessed as a whole and the money turned into the Government (at first the Resident, later the Native Authority Treasury) through the District Head of each district. However, the Kanuri pre-British concept of taxation persisted long after British attempts to introduce their own concepts. The British attempted to introduce the idea that the District Head and the Village Heads under him were political functionaries or agents whose task it was to collect taxes, and not levy them as well.

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Although well known, this idea has not really ever been transferred from British culture to Kanuri ideas on tax collection and, as we shall see, what amounts to tax levies by local officials in excess of government requirements is almost a universal practice in Bornu today.

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The British soon found that "extortion" was being used to collect taxes. Discoveries were made by touring D.O.'s of peasants who would complain of excess taxation, or Village Heads whose prerogatives were being usurped by a *chima*, or in extreme cases by the emigration of peasants

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During 1929, a touring officer (British) reported that there were indications of widespread "extortion" of the peasants of Mobber District by the District Head and his chimas. In May of 1930, Mr. Reed, an A.D.O., was sent up to Mobber to investigate the situation. He reported that the District Head had stationed his chimas in many of the towns of the District. These subalterns were exercising judicial authority, administering whippings and raising levies for themselves and the District Head. The latter when questioned admitted that he was operating through chimas but complained that the Lawans (traditional Village Heads) were for the most part hostile to him. Mr. Reed told the District Head to abolish the chima system and tour himself. The District Head pleaded that he needed to have his own followers in the outer towns of his District to maintain order. The A.D.O. agreed and said he would return in about a month's time to see if the reforms had been carried out. On the return of Mr. Reed in June the situation had not changed appreciably and the A.D.O. arrested five of the most complained against chimas (by the villagers and Village Heads of the "chima's town") and took them to Maiduguri for hearings on the matter.

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On July 7th, 1930, the Shehu, during an interview with the Resident, mentioned that the District Head of Mobber had requested the removal of the Mobber District judge on the grounds of ignorance and inefficiency. Upon questioning, the Shehu advanced the opinion that this request might be due to bad feeling between the District Head and the Alkali (judge). In his turn, the Resident opined that it might more particularly be the case that the judge disapproved of the District Head's illegal use of chimas and raising of personal tax levies.

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In another meeting between the Shehu and the Resident later that month, the Mobber matter was brought up again and the Shehu agreed that things did not seem to be going too well in Mobber. On the 14th of August, the Shehu suggested to the Resident when the Mobber misdemeanours were mentioned that the Mobber peasants were an extremely difficult group to manage and possibly chimas might be required for the proper administration of the District. At the end of August the Shehu requested of the Resident that the five men who had been arrested by A.D.O. Reed be sent back to their homes. The Resident agreed in principle, but felt that the one who had beaten a villager should be kept in Maiduguri for a little longer yet. He added that the men could be sent back to their homes only if the Shehu would take full responsibility for any further trouble in the Mobber area.

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In September and again in October of 1930, A.D.O. Reed was sent up to check the situation in Mobber District. The chimas were operating as before and the District Head was reported as being "not respectful" to the British officer on tour. Only one change [632] had occurred. An entire village area appeared to have been relinquished by the District Head since one of the Shehu's sons had been appointed its Lawan (Village Head) by the Wazir.

Several months later in February 1931, the District Head of Mobber appeared in Maiduguri for an annual meeting and was warned by the Resident that "unless considerable improvement was shown he would be dismissed." From this point on, there were very few items in the Mobber District file in which the "Mobber case" was actually referred to. One short item tells of a rumour picked up by a junior officer to the effect that the District Head of Mobber was a favor-

595 iram to spouses living at that time in his compound. In addition he gives to his current wives presents of soap, perfume, clothes, etc. equal to about half the value of similar gifts given to the new bride. In practice this is extremely various, depending upon the wealth of the male, and his estimation of his present spouse(s)' potential jealousy and opposition over the new wife. One informant was observed who, after giving his wife a substantial cash gift (under half of the luwal-iram), matched the clothes given to his new bride one for one by gifts to his present wife. It is almost universally accepted that successive wives should be younger than one another. This is followed quite widely in practice, at least for the age difference between present wife (only one) and incoming wife. This insures that the authority and rank ordained by custom be represented by an age difference which always allows for a smoother operation of the principle that the wife already in the compound is kamu kura (senior wife).

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[589] Frequency figures on polygyny from Magumeri town are atypical because of its position as District Headquarters. This means that a larger proportion of single males are present than is usual in rural areas, especially since Magumeri is one of the smaller District Headquarters, and the administrative personnel and their subordinates (these latter are often single young men) make up a larger element of the population than is commonly the case. The following table on number of wives is taken from figures gathered between July and November of 1956,(1) given by 78 household heads in the towns of Magumeri, Chingowa, and Ngubura, which form a triangle to the south of Magumeri, each being

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[595] (1) Therefore these data were collected before the harvest of the 1956 crop which brings on the marrying season. The respondents ranged across an extremely wide range of occupations, but all kept up a compound and all worked farms near their towns.

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five to six miles from the other. Magumeri and Ngubura are market towns on the main road to the urban center, while Chingowa has no large weekly market and is off the motor road except for a few months in the wet season when its higher position on a ridge places it on the route of the rainy season road.

Frequency Distribution of Wives Among 78 Male Household Heads

Number of wives	0	1	2	3	4		
Number of males	6	33	31	5	3	Total	78 males
Total number of females	0	33	62	15	12	"	122 females

Thus a total of 78 males had between them 122 women as wives or an average of 1.56 women per man (polygynous households in sample = 50.0%).

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Although it is probable in the extreme that many of the household heads questioned have since changed either the number and/or the persons of their wives, it is felt that this distribution is a representative and reliable description of Kanuri polygyny.

The quantitative data given gives strength to the qualitative observation that it is just as common to see a man with two wives as it [184] is with one in peasant households. This means that we may evaluate Kanuri polygyny as a well-integrated cultural element that is not only practiced by the wealthy and the powerful, but which has real meaning and behavioural consequences throughout all levels of the society.

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In the marriage relationship itself, cultural tradition directs that the male play the dominant role. He gives his wife (or wives) their market money weekly, their millet for cooking from his granaries, and among high status persons, he usually keeps them secluded as much as possible in his compound. He supposedly makes the major decisions concerning himself, his wife and children, and their

[p. 229]

Chapter VIII

Political Organisation

631 The political organization in Bornu can be seen as a continuum of power and authority running from small to large scale structures. These include the extended household organization, the hamlet and ward, the village area, the district, and finally the state, which today has a place in the Northern Region and the Federation of Nigeria. [648] In Bornu, each expansion of the scale of the organization includes part or all of the previous one, while cross-cutting the entire system and intersecting it with varying intensities at different levels is the colonial administration.

621 ### The Hamlet and the Ward

Within the point of view of the present discussion the basic unit of political structure is the extended household organization [571] with its head as the primary governmental figure. The processes of fission and fusion by which these units expand or contract within themselves has already been described (see above pp. 80 - 92).

571 There is however a larger scaled process of fission and fusion which
621 integrates that previously discussed with a wider political organization. This is the underlying process of Hamlet and Ward formation. The following examples illustrate this process in action.

[361] Approximately three miles south-west of Magumeri is the
[632] small village of Gworongo (pop. circa 250) which falls within the
[249] administrative jurisdiction of the town area of Magumeri. Surrounding
[276] the town are small plots of a specialized crop (gworongo)(1) which is sold
[302] in the local markets along with tobacco flowers as a stimulant and a cosmetic for colouring women's teeth. In 1953 one of these full-time

(1) Solanacea Incanum

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621 This same process has occurred at Fallatari, a tiny settlement of five interdependent households, one mile west of Magumeri. Here a semi-nomadic Fulani herdsman settled about 1947 with several brothers. They asked the permission of the Magumeri Village Area Head for this privilege before settling. They have some cows but are today primarily sedentary agriculturalists. The original brothers have now been joined by two strangers, also Fulani, and the settlement now has the political status of a Hamlet, with the original founder as the Ward or Hamlet Head -Bulama.

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632 The political status of the first settlement still connects it in a subordinate manner to the parent Hamlet of Gworongo. All the people of Gworongo and those of the new settlement call themselves tala Lawan Minabe - the peasants of Lawan Mina - the Village Area Head [651] of Magumeri and its surrounding cluster of hamlets. The founder collects the taxes from the other males of the new settlement and gives it to the Village Head of Magumeri. He would rather take disputes with other community members to the Magumeri Village Area Head for adjudication, than to the Hamlet Head of Gworogo and does so. As the years 571 621 pass, and if the new settlement prospers and expands, bit by bit the 622 founder or his heir in this embryo Hamlet will come to be identified as a Bulama (Hamlet Head). As long as people live in the settlement, the heir to the founder's compound will have the status of Hamlet Head and represent the little community as its political leader to those in the hierarchy above him. He will in turn be the instrument through which the political control of those below him is exerted by the wider political organization of the state.

361 In the following diagram of the new settlement near Gworongo, it should be noted that although the Hamlet-to-be has not yet taken on

[Text continues on p. 233]

361 the typical U-shape of a Kanuri town, its embryonic form can be seen in the arrangement of the households, and as the founder claimed, if it continues to grow, the pattern will emerge more clearly.

571 632 621 The same process of establishing small jurisdictional units of political organization goes on in the larger towns within the wards. In Magumeri town, one ward (n'guro) under its Bàlama is slowly approaching the condition where another Bàlama will be empowered and the ward split in two. It is now a large ward, of twenty-five households. Within this unit one man has his own organization of extended households. These include several of his younger brothers and sons with their wives and children. He collects taxes from all of these households and delivers it directly to the Village Area Head of Magumeri. However, he recognizes the authority of the present ward head in settling disputes and always consults the latter first, before taking a matter to any higher authority. One of his sons has married a girl from the household of the present ward head which also links the two organizations. However, if the smaller organization of households continues to expand as its senior man predicted it would, then he, and after him his heir, will eventually become the fully accepted heads of their own ward.

621 571 We can now explain more precisely what is meant in this study by the term extended household organization. It is based on or modelled after a patrilocal extended family organization, but may include non-kin members as well as kin who are all subordinated in some way to the authoritative head. At the local level, the term applies to a territorial unit of closely contiguous compounds each with its own head, but with some form of subordination to the organizational head of the larger unit. If the extended household head can maintain the

621 If the extended household head can maintain the
571 subordination of his followers, then he is on the way to becoming a
554 "big" man which may eventually mean his attainment of the political
622 position of Hamlet or ward head (Bəlama), depending upon the location of his settlement. This achieved status is then stabilized through the inheritance rules.

The Village Area

632 The small village area includes a town cluster of adjoining compounds (usually 500-2000 population) and a surrounding group of small settlements (Hamlets) in the immediate area. The larger towns are broken down into wards, and as we have seen the ward head and the hamlet head have the same political status, that of Bəlama. This is
633 due to their similar political roles as local leaders under the Lawan (Village Area Head). In larger cities such as Maiduguri, Geidam, or Nguru, the "wards" of the city include such large populations that their head men receive the title of Lawan. These Lawans in turn have Bəlama under them as heads of sub-ward divisions in their jurisdictional area.

632 In the town of Magumeri, the Lawan has jurisdiction over all
[565] persons in the Village Area who describe themselves as his peasants. This excludes all persons who are directly subordinate to the District
[651] Head, the Judge, or the N.A. in Maiduguri. Formally he collects a Haraji (assessment) tax from everybody except the District Head, but in reality, he has little political control over anyone who has functioning attachments to the Bornu N.A.

632 The Lawan acts as his own ward head, of the nguro Lawantari
621 (the Lawan's ward), and many of the compounds in this ward house the followers of Lawan, i.e. the members of his extended household organization. Some of the householders had compounds in this ward long before

632 621 Lawan arrived. They look upon Lawan as their leader, but also feel more deeply rooted to their place of residence. This group has seen several Lawans come and go and if Lawan were to consistently overstep the limits of his authority, they would not be averse to complaining about him to his superiors. Their goodwill and support must be sought by Lawan, and they must not be administered to their perpetual detri-
632 ment. Indeed this check on the Lawan's power applied to all his tala (peasants) many of whom know that they can complain of misrule to his superiors. Another check which any tala has over his political superior is migration. He can always move to some other town where he is treated more judiciously. All political leaders, especially Lawans and District Heads, are aware of these checks on their power and are to varying degrees influenced by them.

632 621 571 In Magumeri, the Lawan's own extended household organization includes his son, and about twenty followers under a chief follower (Wakil). Each of the men in this organization has a household of his own somewhere in Lawan's ward (they are not necessarily contiguous), and farmland given to him by Lawan. They receive economic aid from their superior in the form of food, clothing, money, etc., and a status in the extended household organization of the Lawan. Peasants often ask them to intercede for them with the Lawan, or to help them in arranging a meeting between disputants with Lawan as judge.

The members of Lawan's extended household organization are his "administrative staff". They keep in touch with gossip, especially political news; aid in raising taxes; act as contact men for anyone wishing to see him; help him on his farms; and carry messages for him. His followers on foot and horse give him as well the appearance of being what he is, a man out above his peasant subjects, a local ruler.

632 571 If the Lawan moves to another town, or is dismissed, the persons who are his tada move with him, while his tala (peasants) wait patiently for a new Lawan to collect taxes and to settle their disputes.

632 871 Wisely, the Lawan's son in Magumeri stays out of any active leadership role in his father's organization. His job as the adult education (literacy) organizer for the District of Magumeri, keeps him travelling much of the time and he never interferes with the political organization which he may one day inherit. During the entire period of the field trip he was never once observed taking any role of power and authority towards any of his father's followers, all of whom treated [554] him with deference. His father is one of the few enthusiastic supporters of adult education and enforces its innovation quite vigorously in his own jurisdictional area, since he knows that this will raise his son's political respectability in the Bornu N.A.(1)

632 423 [622] All land use rights in the village area except hereditary usufruct are vested in the Lawan. However, dispensation of land use rights can, in practice, be carried out by Hamlet Heads within the hamlet boundaries, although all such decisions must be cleared with Lawan 632 before their final validation. The Lawan is also approached and told of all land rentals which he witnesses. As noted before he is paid a fee for witnessing marriages and ratifying divorces, and he hears and tries disputes involving his peasants. Indeed most peasants feel more secure about any decisions they have made affecting their neighbours

[208] (1) The Magumeri Village Area peasants are nevertheless not responding very keenly to adult education. They find Lawan's enthusiasm for literacy rather confusing, since one of the main propaganda themes given to innovators by the N.A. (designed by the British) is the alleged skill that literacy gives the peasants in ascertaining whether or not their tax receipts actually correspond to their payments. The fact that it is the Lawan who taxes them - and overtaxes them they believe - and he as well who prods them to learn to read, is one reason why they are mistrustful of the literacy campaign.

632 if the matter is ratified by a person of authority in their community. Thus if a man in Magumeri town wishes to move his compound walls in order to expand the size of his dwelling space, he speaks to his ward-head about it and they both go to the Lawan and speak to him of the decision. Lawan asks his men to find out if the contiguous neighbours object, and if not, the action is ratified. This supervisory function of political leaders, especially the Lawan, is a well used mechanism for avoiding possible conflicts in the interpersonal relations of people in town and village settlements.

632 651 The Lawan collects two kinds of taxes, although only one is officially recognized by the N.A. Firstly, there is a tax collected for the state from all settled people in the village area which is in the form of a property assessment on all males over the age of eighteen to twenty. Any amount the Lawan obtains with the aid of his organization above the amount written on the tax receipt stubs, is (illegally) [661] [648] his own income. Overtaxing in this manner is a widely accepted practice, but must be kept within limits, since a complaint to the British by a resentful peasant could bring on the dismissal of the Lawan.

632 651 661 The second tax collected by the Lawan is the zakat or tithe on farm produce. Unlike the first tax, there is no official sanction for this levy beyond that of tradition, and the power and authority of [648] the Lawan in his Village Area. Colonial officials assured the writer that this practice was illegal and occurred only sporadically. In a survey of 75 households in three Village Areas (i.e., under three different Lawans) all peasants who had produced a farm crop reported paying a tithe in kind or approximately ten per cent of their millet crop. In twelve cases the household heads declared that they had given ten per cent of all crop production including millet, beans and groundnuts.

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One of the informants offered the information that if he did not pay zakat to his Lawan, his farmland would be taken away from him. Checking this information proved to be difficult, since no cases were ever reported or observed. Consequently, people only speculated about the results of not paying zakat. The belief that land might be confiscated if the zakat tax is not paid is not universal, but the belief that some sort of reprisal would result from non-payment is held by all peasants.

The following excerpt from field notes illustrates the kind of experience that promotes this belief if the Lawan's authority is not responded to with some degree of subordination.

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Bukar is a newcomer to Magumeri. He has been given some land by the Lawan and when not farming plies his trade as a hat maker and mud house builder. Because he had no previous social ties in the town, he has attached himself to the Arabic teacher of the primary school, an N.A. employee and a highly respected religious practitioner. This attachment appears to Bukar because of his strong personal fears of supernatural malevolence. The Arabic teacher gives Bukar a place in the social relations of the town, plus free charms and medicines for illness and bad luck. Bukar looks after the teacher's house, repairs it, cleans it up periodically, and watches it during the latter's absence.

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On one of these occasions of the teacher's absence, Bukar had borrowed some matting from his mentor for use in his own compound. The Lawan, in whose house there was to be a naming ceremony, needed some extra mats for temporary shelters. He sent a follower over to the Arabic teacher's to borrow some of the extra mats that were stocked in the teacher's compound. These were taken, and Bukar was asked what had become of the others. He answered that he had borrowed them and that he was in charge of watching the teacher's possessions during the latter's absence. He refused to produce the matting from his own compound and was brought to the Lawan where his defiance was rewarded by the Lawan telling him that unless he produced the extra matting so that they could be borrowed by Lawan, then he (Bukar) was no better than a common thief. Bukar still refused and the matter was dropped.

When the teacher returned Lawan complained to him of the disobedience and lack of respect of his man Bukar. The teacher said nothing, but instead of reprimanding Bukar, sent him to fetch back the mats borrowed by Lawan (the ceremony was over).

632 661 He therefore supported the lower class person against his fellow upper class member.

632 661 683 684 Several months later Bukar was involved in a case against a Fulani herder whose cows had eaten his millet. The case came before Lawan who ruled that although the Fulani had pulled a knife on Bukar (a serious offence), it was Bukar who had started the fight, and it was this act that had caused the cows to wander over Bukar's field and devour his, as well as another man's, crops. Bukar was then fined heavily for starting a fight, fined for the other man's crops and given an extra fine of five shillings as kafelo for the District Head. (Bukar reports that his crops were already eaten before the fight started; besides this, pulling a knife during a fight is a separate offence to the fight itself, and the Fulani was not fined for this misdemeanour).

632 661 In discussing the matter, Bukar's senior, the teacher explained that Lawan was angry at Bukar for his behaviour over the mats and was adjudicating against him for this reason. When Bukar finally raised the money for the fine he was told by the teacher to give the money to Lawan and to say that he (Bukar) was a small insignificant poor peasant. He was further instructed to tell Lawan that if there was any help that Lawan needed in house building, he (Bukar) would be pleased to offer his services. The teacher also cautioned Bukar about the future. If Lawan continued to adjudicate against him and give him heavy fines, then he should request to take the case to a higher court. Thus the teacher wished his peasant-follower to make his peace with Lawan, but if this were impossible then higher authorities would be resorted to and Lawan's power by-passed. In other words the teacher felt that the political structure of the town should be respected within limits.

This case illustrates how easy it is for a Lawan to make a reprisal for lack of sensitivity to his power and authority on the part of the peasants under his jurisdiction. His power of granting land use rights, settling disputes, and imposing fines, intersects the lives of his peasants at such vulnerable points that to thwart his power and authority and remain in his territory without the possibility of reprisal would be impossible.

632 [643] A Lawan is installed officially by the Shehu at an investiture ceremony in Maiduguri. Even if he inherited the position he must still be "turbaned" by the Shehu to hold office properly. Some village areas claim the same lines of Lawans well back into the 19th century,

632 others are of more recent vintage. Dismissal from office is occasioned by (1) the political manoeuvring of the District Head who wishes to replace a Lawan with one of his own followers; (2) migration out of a Village Area or complaints by peasants to the British against their Lawan; (3) failure to raise enough tax, or attempting to raise too much. However, if a Lawan is responsive to his seniors and does not mulct his peasants to the point of hardship, migration, and complaint, he has a fairly secure position in the Bornu political organisation.

The District Organization

632 In Bornu the Lawan represents a link between the higher political organization and the landed peasants. To the latter he is the most easily accessible member of the ruling class, and to many, especially in the hamlets, the exact nature of the political organisation above the Lawan is known in only vague outline. However, in terms of the Emirate, the District Head (hereafter written DH) and his administration of the District hold a central position. If there are any disturbances, irregularities in tax revenues, increases in crime, migration out of the District, or failure of any policy goals, it is to the DH that all agencies at the center turn for an explanation.

634 To the lowly peasant the DH is a man in another world, a world of awesome power, riches and courtly life. A Lawan may go abroad to oversee a new well in one of his hamlets, or to mark off the boundaries of a new farm, or take a tax census, but the DH rarely leaves his compound to go out among the people, except to collect the nomad cattle tax, or to appear at the Shehu's court for some state ceremonial. When he does venture forth, it is a royal sally, to the playing of pipe and drum, with a troop of galloping horsemen and servants brandishing swords, spears and dane guns (muzzle loaders).

342 476 565 the house often aided by the wives of the serwa participants cook a large meal for the men who build the house. Materials are bought by the owner. This method is only practised in the construction of house types "A" and "B". Secondly, building with mud is carried out by specialists 342 331 565 and they must be employed and paid to build the house. However, this requirement is not clearcut; specialists are also used to construct house types "A" and "B", especially "B" which is a larger and more complicated variety. The determining variable for the use of specialists is social status. The higher the status of a male householder, the less likely is he to use a serwa and the more likely is he to utilise specialist labour. [369] [563] Today in the cities, southern Nigerians, especially Ibo contractors, as well as a few Hausa and Kanuri, contract with both the government and private indivudals to build houses using combinations of both traditional and western building techniques and design.

423 [427] [369] Rent is paid in the cities where houses are regularly purchased and sold by private persons. In rural areas, in the villages and hamlets, there is no need for house rental, since new housing is cheap and land is not scarce in or near the settlement. Land rights in Bornu are not, however, so simple, for the Kanuri do not operate their system of land tenure under one definite set of rules. The primary criterion for land ownership is usufruct. The land is given to the peasant [425] by the political leader of the community. The peasant and his descendants hold this property for as long as they maintain its use, giving 423 632 the feudal leader a tithe every year on the produce. In Magumeri, the Lawan (Village Head) has nominal control over all free land within a radius of about three-quarters of a mile from the town. Farms within this circle are called kulo fatobe (compound or "House" farms), while those beyond are called kulo karabe (bush farms). Permission should be sought

425 Permission should be sought for a new farm in either area. However, land obtained from the Lawan
632 in the "house" farm section is already cleared and bounded into plots;
423 this type of acquisition is thought and spoken of as a bequest. On the other hand, permission to use bush land is not so much a grant from the Lawan as a formal recognition of his political leadership in the community. Furthermore, bushland must be cleared and the act of clearing is a traditionally accepted criterion for the establishment of property rights.

423 The "house" farms are not be confused with the small garden
241 plots kept usually by women inside the compound walls.(1) These latter plots are planted with early maturing maize, millet and vegetables, which are used for easing the hard times before the harvest and as a
423 private source of income by women. To the Kanuri, the word fato used
[829] to describe a piece of land adjacent to the town or village reflects their conception of the settlement as a set of extended patrilocal households. The lands immediately adjacent to a stable settlement are owned by the long term resident households and passed on to descendants. These people also own bush farms but can be distinguished from more recent arrivals to the town by their ownership of plots in the house farm are.

423 The difference between bush and "house" farms can thus be
829 seen in Kanuri eyes as a difference in social identification. A "house" farm represents older, more integrated membership in the community, while a bush farm indicates newness or transience. The former means a working relationship, not only a formal one, between the owner and the

[192] (1) There is no difficulty here if the term is translated literally; fatobe - of the compound, i.e. the genitive case, meaning the farm of the compound. In-the-compound would require the use of the Kanuri word suro - in or inside of.

366 ulation growth in itself may be said to lead to markets, and markets and
494 transportation facilities, when present, "feed back" to stimulate further
161 growth.

443 Markets, especially those on motor roads, tend to set the
494 one pattern or rhythm of intersettlement communication and travel. Thus
484 if Bukar or Magumeri wishes to take several bags of millet to Yerwa (Maiduguri) he knows that he can get a lorry at the Thursday, Sunday or Monday market, which can take him and his goods to the capital. Again if Bukar's sister is coming to visit him from the capital or some other distant town in Bornu, she will arrive on a market day. If a man's wife wishes to divorce him, or he her, she must wait until market day to leave him in order to obtain "proper" transportation back to her relatives if they live in some distant part of the state. Thus the market cycle plus the presence of lorries and roads determines a large part of the temporal movement of rural life. This, of course, adds zest, interest
443 and excitement to market day. Beyond the temporal categorization of
[203] events, markets are also major sources of news and gossip about politics,
[273] marriages, births, circumcisions and deaths. Pagans brew beer for sale
[525] on the local market day, and gamblers hold (illicit) card games in the nearby bush area. Gambling, strangers, new bits of gossip, perhaps a new woman or two, drummers and entertainers, all contribute and create not just an ordinary day for buying and selling goods but a festive occasion which is regarded as a break or relief in the daily monotony of rural life.

443 Each local market has its head man (mala kasuba) to whom
692 disputes are referred. If he is unable to settle the disagreement, then
[632] the disputants are taken to either the Lawan (Village Head) of the market town, or the judge, if the town boasts a court. In Maiduguri, there

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
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242 177 Two one-acre plots were to be used for each peasant, so that the utility of the fertilizer could be seen on both millet and groundnut plots. In addition, the field worker was to keep careful records on date of sowing, date of application of fertilizer, dates of first and second weeding and harvesting, farmer reaction to super-phosphate, name and village of the cultivator, and finally, the weight in pounds of millet and groundnuts harvested per half acre on the demonstration plots. The field worker was instructed on the necessity of weighing the harvest from each half acre in the presence of the owner, so that each peasant would see the difference in yield from the treated and untreated portions of the plots. The instructions on this last point were very strongly worded and field workers were made to feel particularly responsible for the final demonstration to the farmer of the weight of crops coming from each part of the demonstration plots. Field workers were also told to play down the efficacy of this particular stock of super-phosphate pellets by commenting on its age and its probable loss of power in comparison to new super-phosphate which could be expected to give much more powerful results. The field worker was also asked to make the point that this free application was only for the purpose of demonstration, and that anyone wishing to obtain super-phosphate fertilizer in the future would be expected to buy it. (Actually, the plan was to distribute the fertilizer the following year at a very nominal price, well below its actual worth.)

The District Head organized a meeting of Magumeri cultivators and introduced Malam Abdulla and his project. The [632] Village Head of Magumeri and the local school teacher, both [875] highly respected men in the village, made short speeches ex- [554] tolling the virtues of the fertilizer, and the Village Head asked for volunteers who would participate in the project. Only a few came forward, others were then ordered to do so, and the rest of the Magumeri sample was obtained through the participation of the school teacher and servants of the District Head, all of whom had their own farm plots. Malam Abdulla also went to two other villages in the area, after obtaining the permission of the District Head, and obtained "volunteers". In